



# FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN

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## ALLIES SEEK UNITY IN EUROPE'S UNDERGROUNDS BEFORE INVASION

AS Allied troops on the offensive in Italy smash deeper into the Gustav Line, the Allies anxiously scan the possibilities of underground support by the various European underground movements of their forthcoming assaults on other Nazi-held areas. Sound warnings have already been given against expecting too much of peoples who have been the victims of mass terror and who may yet experience even more extreme Nazi reprisals. Despite repression and threats, however, remarkable proofs of tenacity on the part of the men and women of the enemy-occupied countries have never been lacking, and their cooperation with the Allies at this crucial moment could prove a powerful aid to the invasion.

**LESSONS FROM EASTERN EUROPE.** From what has happened in eastern Europe as the Red Army appeared in Nazi-occupied countries something can be learned about the probable reaction of underground movements to the liberating forces in the west. When word went out last January that the Red Army was in eastern Poland, the well-organized Polish underground army is reported to have blown up vital bridges, destroyed gasoline supplies bound for the eastern front, and undertaken railroad sabotage that hindered the Nazi defense of Lwow. The Red Army's arrival also helped close the gap between the "partisans"—friends of the Soviet Union who believed in guerrilla warfare at all times regardless of cost—and the other Polish underground forces, who insisted on saving as many of their people's lives as possible by awaiting the arrival of Allied troops. This issue of active versus passive military tactics, which has also caused rifts in Yugoslavia and Greece, ceased to be important once a liberating army appeared, and one of the outstanding causes of friction between rival Polish groups thus disappeared. There seems to be reason for hope, therefore, that the arrival of Russian or Anglo-American armies in other countries threatened

by civil war may similarly have a unifying-effect on groups engaged in internecine warfare.

As the Red Army reached the eastern border of Czechoslovakia in April and President Benes gave the order to exchange passive for active resistance, the situation developed as it had in Poland. A guerrilla movement emerged, and one of its first achievements was severance of the Nazis' main railroad artery in Slovakia. Farther west, in Bohemia and Moravia, there was less underground activity—not because these provinces were less eager to expel the Germans but because the Red Army, with its tremendous moral and military support, was more remote. It also appears that Red Army men trained in guerrilla tactics have helped the Poles, Czechs and Slovaks with increased sabotage activities. In the west, therefore, it seems likely that Anglo-American forces will use specially equipped and trained men to aid the Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians and French in destroying key bridges and railroads and in releasing prisoners taken by the Germans.

**UNSOLVED POLITICAL PROBLEMS.** In paving the way for cooperation between the peoples of Europe and the liberating armies, the United States and Britain are making last-minute attempts to bring dissident underground movements into at least temporary harmony with their official governments-in-exile. British pressure is being exerted on King Peter, as on several previous occasions, to form a more representative Yugoslav cabinet. But the conference the young monarch called in London on May 15 can hardly produce a government of national unity since it includes no representatives of Tito's Partisans. There is, perhaps, a greater possibility that the Greek government-in-exile, with similar encouragement from London, may come to terms with the EAM—the republican liberation front in Greece that includes Communists as well as leftists and liberals—for at least all Greek political groups are rep-

resented in the meetings which Prime Minister Papandreou is preparing to hold in the Lebanon.

In contrast to eastern Europe, negotiation with the resistance movements in Norway, Holland and Belgium has proved a relatively simple matter for the Allies on the eve of invasion. These countries were not only more united than most of their eastern European neighbors when World War II began, but their governments that went into exile were democratic in character and rested on popular elections. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a recent issue of the Norwegian underground newspaper *Krigsoversikt* (*War Survey*) declaring that, among Norway's primary war aims, is a return to the legal and constitutional institutions that prevailed before the war, and the establishment of a government appointed by King Haakon and "guided by his sure and practiced hand."

**FRANCE IN KEY ROLE.** It is chiefly on France, however, that Anglo-American attention is now focused. France not only seems destined to be one of the major battlegrounds of the war but, unlike Belgium, Norway and Holland, has a guerrilla army that is estimated by the Germans to number 175,000 men trained by regular army officers. The "Maquis," as it is called, is known to have been supplied with at least some Allied arms, and recent Nazi regulations applying the death penalty to any persons sheltering members of the enemy's armed forces may indicate that Allied planes have dropped not only supplies and instructions but also military experts in various parts of France. Properly equipped, the "Maquis" might aid the Allies in opening routes into France in much the same way as the Yugoslav Partisans are doing in their theatre of war by attacking Nazi communications in the Vardar and Ibar valleys—key routes from the Aegean to the Danube.

Since close cooperation between the Allies and the French underground forces may be of considerable importance to the success of the invasion, the announcement by the French Committee in Algiers on May 10 that the "Maquis" is to be incorporated into the French army gives new urgency to the question of relations between the Allies and de Gaulle. This fact was underlined on May 11 when the French Committee suspended negotiations between General Eisenhower and General Koenig, head of the French military mission to London, concerning collaboration between representatives of the Committee and the civil affairs branch of the Anglo-American armies. The ostensible reason for this crisis in French-Allied relations was the pique the French felt with the British for subjecting them to the ban on all secret communications from England—a restriction from which the United States, the Dominions and the Soviet Union were exempted. Fundamentally, however, the French action is an indication of de Gaulle's dissatis-

faction with the Allies for refusing to recognize the Committee in Algiers as the provisional government of France and indicates the importance of adjusting the French and other remaining political problems lest they impede military plans on which the fate of all the United Nations depends.

WINIFRED N. HADSEL

## FAR EAST'S UNDERGROUND

Just as the United Nations have underground allies within the conquered nations of Europe, so in the Far East a less publicized opposition is waging a daily struggle against the evils of Japanese rule. This popular anti-Japanese movement exists not only in the guerrilla areas of China and in the Philippines, but also within the citadels of Japan's older empire—the colonies of Formosa, Korea and Manchuria. For it is a striking fact that, although the Japanese have ruled Formosa for almost fifty years, Korea for considerably more than thirty, and Manchuria for well over a decade, they have by no means succeeded in wiping out the nationalist sentiments of the local populations.

Last month, for example, the Japanese radio admitted that the colonial government of Korea was having difficulties with the population of the peninsula. In the quaint, indirect language of Japanese officialdom, the Governor-General complained of "signs in some sections that the spirit of the people is shrinking." Then, becoming more explicit, he stated that "there are some places where I cannot say that the people of Korea are devoting their fullest morale happily to their respective works. . . . In any nation the morale of the people tends to be reduced when a war is prolonged. . . . There should be no incidents which cause disunity of the people's morale. This statement lent weight to earlier reports from Chungking that riots, in which students were active, broke out in Korea after Japan enforced conscription early this year.

It should be understood that places like Korea and Manchuria—in which discontent has also been hinted at by Japanese sources—are an integral part of Japan's war economy. Japan could wage war without Burma or the Philippines, which belong to its outer ring of empire, but could not fight long without the vital supplies of rice, soy beans, iron ore, steel, coal, and other war essentials secured from the near-by areas of Korea and Manchuria.

Clearly it was good military strategy, as well as simple justice, for Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek to declare at the Cairo conference last November that Manchuria and Formosa would be returned to China and that Korea would become an independent nation "in due course." Even the existence of the reservation about Korea, which has given rise to criticism, cannot obscure the fact that this was an important step in aligning the anti-Axis

countries with populations oppressed by Japan. It is thought in some quarters that reports of the Cairo decision have already had influence inside Korea in arousing new hopes of freedom. It now remains for the United Nations to enlist as much support as possible from the East Indies, Indo-China and neighboring territories by indicating clearly that they are also to benefit from victory in the present war. Declarations of intention will help, but probably nothing would have as great an effect as the reaching of an early settlement in India between Britain and the nationalist movement. For the government of India, if it so wishes, is in a position to use the recent release of Gandhi on medical grounds as an occasion for a new effort to break the political deadlock. Certainly, any action now taken to encourage the peoples of Asia to identify their own independence with the defeat of Japan will help to shorten the war in the Far East and lay the basis for post-war stability in that region.

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

## I.L.O. MAPS NEW PROGRAM

After three and a half weeks of intense discussion at Temple University, Philadelphia, the twenty-sixth session of the International Labor Conference closed on May 12. Forty-one member countries sent delegations, of which 28 were full delegations, composed of government, employers', and workers' representatives. Three non-member states—Iceland, Nicaragua, and Paraguay—sent observers. Broader in scope than the United and Associated Nations, since it included representatives of four neutral states, the Argentine Republic, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey, the Conference was the most universal international gathering convened since 1939.

In pre-war times, the main purpose of the yearly I.L.O. conferences was to adopt international "draft conventions" dealing with such matters as maximum hours of work, employment of women and children, etc. Sixty-seven of these conventions—which become binding international treaties once ratified by the member states—have been adopted so far. The Philadelphia Conference, however, did not take decisions of such binding character. From the outset it was considered that world conditions were not favorable to the adoption of new conventions, and that only recommendations for national action, as well as general resolutions, could be adopted.

**MAIN DECISIONS.** On the first item of its agenda—future status of the International Labor Organization—the Conference, contrary to expecta-

tions, did not suggest any important changes in the I.L.O. structure, except to provide that in the future the Montreal office of the I.L.O. may communicate directly with member states without passing through the Secretariat. The same resolution requests the Governing Body of the Organization to appoint a committee to consider the future relationship of the I.L.O. with other international bodies—for instance, UNRRA and the United Nations Commission on Food and Agriculture. On item II—recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war policy—the Conference adopted a series of detailed resolutions concerning measures for the protection of transferred foreign workers; economic policies needed to attain such social objectives as full employment; and problems involved in labor provisions for internationally financed public works. In the field of organization of employment in the transition from war to peace, three comprehensive recommendations to governments were adopted, dealing with (1) the organization of employment in the transition from war to peace; (2) the employment services; and (3) the national planning of public works. On item IV—social security—the Conference adopted recommendations concerning income security and medical care. The last recommendation adopted by the Conference establishes minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories.

**THE "PHILADELPHIA CHARTER."** The outstanding decision of the Conference was the "Philadelphia Charter." This declaration of social aims and purposes declares it the prime duty of all governments to achieve full employment and attain a high standard of living for their people. It further indicates that all national and international policies, notably those of an economic and financial character, must be judged in the light of this goal, and suggests definite programs—such as the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income for every one, extensive medical care, adequate housing, nutrition, etc.—for the achievement of better social conditions throughout the world.

The recommendations adopted by the I.L.O. Conference will be sent to the governments for due study and consideration. Whether their relatively bold, but in no way revolutionary, proposals will serve as guiding principles for future action in the social field depends on the reaction of member countries.

ERNEST S. HEDIGER

*(Mr. Hediger was a member of the temporary staff of the I.L.O. Conference at Philadelphia)*

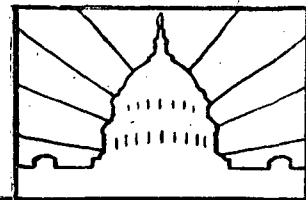
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# Washington News Letter



## FATE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY IN NAZI-HELD COUNTRIES

Official observers in Washington expect that the invasion of western Europe will be attended by widespread destruction of industrial and agricultural property as a result not only of military operations but also of looting and planned destruction as the Germans withdraw. Already the occupied countries have been pushed by the Nazis to the brink of national impoverishment. While many factories in France, the Netherlands and Belgium have been bombed out of existence, the Nazis have methodically been moving others to the safer regions of Silesia and the Government General of Poland. The liberated nations individually and the United Nations as a group will be faced with a most difficult problem, probably impossible of satisfactory solution, of unscrambling European economy after the war.

**GERMAN LOOTING IN EUROPE.** On January 5, 1943 the United States, 16 other United Nations, and the French National Committee (now the French Committee of National Liberation) warned that they "reserved all their rights to declare invalid any transfers of, or dealings with, property rights and interests of any description whatsoever" in the occupied zones. To implement this statement the governments concerned established a committee in London whose task was to record (1) the methods used by the Germans in plundering the occupied countries and in transferring titles to immovable property, and (2) the laws and decrees respecting property put into effect in the conquered countries during the occupation period.

The catalogue drawn up by this committee, which is sitting in London, remains a secret. Its study covers two broad types of plundering: the theft by individual Germans of such consumers' goods as stockings, food, perfume and refrigerators, which soon lose their usefulness; and the ostensibly legalized impressment of factories, farms, dockyards, transportation systems, ships and other property of considerable permanent value. The Germans have co-ordinated many European economic enterprises important for war purposes into large holding and operating companies, such as the Hermann Goering Works, the majority shares of which are either owned by the Reich or are under control of apparently private German concerns like *I. G. Farbenindustrie*.

Some of the governments-in-exile are uncertain

as to the practicability of revoking transfers of title made under German occupation during the war years. It has been suggested that persons who feel they are rightful owners might be encouraged to sue in the courts to regain their property. The current policy of the Allies is to leave to the government of each particular liberated country the responsibility for settling property questions in its territory. The disposition of materials moved to Germany from all conquered lands, however, is considered the concern of all the Allies.

The Czech government, for one, is prepared to declare null and void all transfers of title to property carried out in the Sudetenland after its annexation under the Munich Agreement, and in the rest of Czechoslovakia after the occupation of March 1939. President Eduard Benes is reported here to have proposed the nationalization of heavy industries in his country, where the Hermann Goering Works is the successor to former Czech and foreign owners of great enterprises like Skoda, the Prague Ironworking Co. and the Foldi Steel Works. Some of the former Czech owners, however, have become citizens of other countries, including the United States, and Benes is said to wonder whether nationalization of their property might not cause international legal complications.

**RECONSTRUCTION DIFFICULT.** Overshadowing any question of property restoration is the alarming fact that the productive property left in Europe at the close of hostilities is likely to be far below what will be needed to support the continent's population. Machines are nearly worn out from the strain of high-volume war production and, in many cases, new parts and machines are impossible to obtain in Europe. Transportation systems, except those urgently needed by the Germans for prosecution of the war, are deteriorating. The United States government already has begun to consider what part it might wisely play in helping to put Europe back on its feet while at the same time urging Europeans themselves to do their utmost to restore the economy of their countries. The heroic action of the Russians in restoring the transportation system between Stalin-grad and the Rumanian border is regarded here as a hopeful portent of the future determination of Europe's populations to build anew on the ashes of war.

BLAIR BOLLES

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